

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 01702 300433Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1702

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TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CH

SUBJECT: PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE PRESENTS A FRAMEWORK FOR "STUDY"
OF TENG'S POLITICAL PROGRAM

REF: PEKING 1696 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. A FULL-PAGE ARTICLE ("ON CAPITALIST

ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY") PUBLISHED UNDER THE PSEUDONYM CH'IN HUAI-WEN

ON PAGE TWO OF THE AUGUST 27 PEOPLE' DAILY SETS OUT AN UNCOMPROMISING
INDICTMENT OF TENG HSIAO-PING'S IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND
CONSPIRATORIAL ACTIVITIES. WHILE ECHOING THE AUGUST 23 PEOPLE'S DAILY
EDITORIAL CALL FOR NATIONWIDE STUDY OF TENG'S THREE PROGRAMMATIC WORKS,

CH'IN'S PIECE FOLLOWS LIANG HAI SO AND OTHERS (REFTEL) IN IMPLYING A
"STUDY" CAMPAIGN WITH TEETH; TENG'S SUPPORTERS ARE ULTIMATELY
TARGETED ALONG WITH HIS POLITICAL LINE AND IDEOLOGY. END INTRODUCTION
AND SUMMARY.

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PAGE 02 PEKING 01702 300433Z

2. THE ARTICLE FIRST OFFERS A RATHER DISARMING BIT OF "HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE": THAT IT IS EASIER TO STRIKE DOWN "ONE OR TWO OPPORTUNIST CHIEFTAINS" (READ TENG AND PERHAPS FALLEN EDUCATION MINISTER CHOU JUNG-HSIN) THAN TO CRITICIZE THOROUGHLY THE REVISIONIST LINE OR ERADICATE

ITS INFLUENCE. BUT THE ARGUMENT SOON MAKES IT CLEAR THAT TENG WAS NOT SO ISOLATED, THAT HE IN FACT ENJOYED A MULTITUDE OF SUPPORTERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WHO RALLIED ROUND HIS "BLACK BANNER" OF "TAKING THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK." AND THIS BACKING DID NOT COME MERELY FROM A BUNCH OF "OLD DUFFERS," UNRECONSTRUCTED "RENEGADES AND SPECIAL AGENTS" WHO HAD BEEN PURGED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. RATHER, TENG SOUGHT TO "RELY UPON" ANY WHO WERE RIGHTIST, "WHETHER OLD, MIDDLE-AGED OR YOUNG." THOUGH TENG HSIAO-PING HIMSELF HAS FALLEN, THE ARTICLE GOES ON, HIS CLASS AND THE CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE PARTY REMAIN ON THE CAPITALIST

ROAD, CHANGING THEIR TACTICS AND CAMOUFLAGING THEIR TRUE AIMS. IT IS THEREFORE IMPERATIVE, CH'IN ARGUES, TO PLAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE "NEW

ORIENTATION" OF CLASS STRUGGLE, TO "SMASH THE OFFENSIVE" OF THE CAPITALIST ROADERS, AND TO RETALIATE AGAINST THEIR (UNSPECIFIED) "SABOTAGE ACTIVITIES." CH'IN'S CASE BUILDS TO A POINTED AND OMINOUS CLIMAX: HENCEFORTH ANYONE WHO PRACTICES REVISIONISM, "NO MATTER WHO HE (T'A) IS," MUST BE "RESOLUTELY EXPOSED AND RESOLUTELY STRUGGLED AGAINST."

3. CH'IN HAILS UNITY--QUOTING MAO'S DICTUM "WE MUST UNITE, NOT SPLIT"-- AND PINS BLAME FOR THE PARTY SPLIT SQUARELY UPON TENG, WHOSE "RECTIFICATION OF LEADING GROUPS" WAS BUT A PRETEXT FOR PURGING HIS LEFTIST OPPONENTS. TENG EMERGES THROUGH CH'IN'S PEN AS A PERIPATETIC SCHEMER, INCITING OTHERS TO WRITE ACCUSATIONS, FABRICATING POLITICAL RUMORS, LECTURING AROUND THE COUNTRY, AND HOLDING COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY

FORUMS. HENCE WHEN CH'IN CITES APPROVINGLY THE SEEMINGLY MODERATE POLICY OF "UNITING 95 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE," HE INTENDS IT AS COUNTER

POINT TO TENG'S SPLITTIST ACTIVITIES, NOT AS GUIDANCE IN WAGING THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG AND HIS FOLLOWERS. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE CH'IN ARTICLE--IN COMMON WITH THOSE COVERED IN REFTEL--DOES CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PEKING 01702 300433Z

NOT ONCE USE "TREAT THE ILLNESS TO CURE THE PATIENT," THE MAO PHRASE THAT SIGNALS (AS IN THE AUGUST 23 EDITORIAL) MODERATION IN DEALING WITH THOSE WHO HAVE ERRED.

4. CH'IN ALSO RETURNS TO AND EXPANDS A CHARGE ADVANCED ALMOST HALF-HEARTEDLY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE TIEN AN MEN INCIDENT: THAT TENG, LIKE

LIU SHAO-CHI AND LIN PIAO BEFORE HIM, WAS IN EFFECT A REPRESENTATIVE

OF

"IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM, AND REACTION," SPECIFICALLY OF THE
SOVIET UNION. CH'IN POSITS
A DIRECT IDEOLOGICAL AND CLASS LINKAGE BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND
INTERNATIONAL CAPITULATIONISTS. CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE PARTY,
CH'IN DECLARES, ARE CLASS CAPITULATIONISTS AT HOME, YIELDING BEFORE THE

CONTINUOUS EXPANSION OF
BOURGEOIS RIGHTS; INTERNATIONALLY, THEY SUBMIT BEFORE IMPERIALIST
AND SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST PRESSURE, THUS BECOMING NATIONALCAPITULATIONISTS.

CH'IN QUOTES SELECTIVELY FROM SOVIET MEDIA TO BUTTRESS THE CHARGE THAT

MOSCOW "OPENLY INCIDED" CAPITALIST ROADERS WITHIN THE CHINESE PARTY TO

CARRY OUT RESTORATION WHEN TENG RESUMED WORK AND LATER LAMENTED TENG'S

FALL.
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